/644 cont./

584 593 It has also happened, as Sara recalled, that the two lovers decided to elope, that they renounced any kind of marriage celebration, and that they remained away from their parents until they no longer feared reproach. Even if a child should be subjected to threats, he would find sufficient support from close relatives against the inadmissible interference of parents, if only he does not become intimidated and stands his ground. It is the special duty of the uncle to help so that every young person who wishes to marry is permitted to make an absolutely free decision. In case the uncle's influence on the parents does not bring results, he can even influence public opinion against them if they restrict their child's freedom of choice. All opposition dissolves automatically when the young couple has a child to be cared for. Thus, a person who must fear the disapproval or resistance of parents toward a marriage elopes with his partner; once the couple is blessed with one or two children, no one can interfere or separate them.

[604] [624] [583]

●587 /645/ A woman who becomes a man's second wife also has unrestricted freedom of choice. If she is a widow, she must sometimes be glad if a man will take her, whether she likes him or not, and she suppresses her own wishes without a murmur. Her position is more favorable if an older man, whose wife has perhaps become incapable of working, woos her. From the start she can then secure for herself certain rights and a favorable position in the family. In the great majority of polygamous marriages the two women are sisters (21); the second one to be taken by the man is

585

21. This custom may be verified in Bridges' (1):21 words: "When a man married more wives than one they were generally sisters, which fact tendered greatly to strengthen the family party" /cited in English/. Relationship by marriage as such does not constitute blood relationship, hence does not hinder marriage (p. 417).

thus frequently better situated in many respects than in a monogamous marriage.

/645 cont./
834 in the selection of a mate (23).

23. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/646/ 5. The Duty of Marrying a Widow

• 587 Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Yamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

587 604 736 Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24).

24. Only Hahn (a):805 mentioned the levirate among the Yamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

/546 cont./

587 604 736 to social life. Naturally, adult nephews and nieces who are married are not under the guardianship of their uncle. If the deceased has several brothers, these obligations fall upon the eldest, but not infrequently a younger brother comes forward, especially if he has his eye on his widowed sister-in-law. At any rate, the brothers come to an agreement, and usually the one who wants to take advantage of the opportunity promptly and boldly takes charge without interference by the others.

The eldest brother, as such, has a priority to his widowed sister-in-law. It is well known that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prevented from marrying. The duty of an unmarried brother-in-law to take the widow almost borders on coercion. Differences in age have nothing to do with it. The widow has a perfectly free choice, but she can hardly resist the pressure put upon her by her brother-in-law if some outsider does not court her. If the widow actually exercises her right and marries another man instead of her brother-in-law, the latter is not relieved of his care for the children. He has to take the nephews and nieces if the new stepfather does not care to rear them. He is then content to know that his sister-in-law is taken care of economically. His nephews and nieces, however, will always have strong support from their paternal uncle, since his obligation toward them never ceases.

581 /547/ A married brother-in-law adequately fulfills his duty toward his widowed sister-in-law if he helps her toward economic security. Marrying her depends partly on the consent of his own wife. If the widow wishes to marry another man or to remain unmarried with one of her children or with relatives of her deceased husband, he does not prevent her from doing so. Sometimes the 587 brother-in-law takes advantage of the favorable opportunity to 736 enter into a new marriage if he is not satisfied with his first wife. Whether or not the latter agrees, he brings the widowed sister-in-law into his hut, and the only thing usually achieved by it is that the other withdraws, which is what he intended. It is even regarded as legal that a married man leave his first wife and, in her stead, take his widowed sister-in-law into his hut. If their married life was not very happy, she, too, is usually very glad of the solution, and her relatives take her in with open arms. This duty of marrying a widow is practiced even in modern times.

/84? cont./

587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Turk in Ushuaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law; it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

589 In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwimah, and BD:226 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married.[1] To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

587 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain
67 deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

587 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obli-
736 gation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves
585 if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (18).

18. The obligation of the levirate is partly

587
736
595

/648 cont./
responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

584
604

The paternal uncle, indáruwa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they! For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, indáruwa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you dally with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

/649 cont./

584 elsewhere. In the opinion of the majority, such abuses are re-
604 garded as unjust; hence the guilty ones -- they are aware of be-
626 ing such -- make a secret of the fact that they have interfered without permission. The relatives and the larger community are steadfastly and as a matter of course on the side of the lovers, provided always that blood relationship is excluded. To the extent that the general public knows of the marriage plans of the couple, it prepares steadfastly for the forthcoming marriage. Meanwhile the aunts and female neighbors approach the girl in friendly good-will and wish her all kinds of happiness for the future, making this dependent on the recently imparted advice and the earlier instructions on the occasion of the menarche. The boy is merely given additional earnest warnings in case his conduct requires it.

587 When a couple enters a second marriage, the /650/ formalities that apply to the first marriage are omitted. "They are simply no longer necessary," as Calderon emphasized. "The couple know very well that they need not let themselves be influenced by anyone in their decision!" In one way or another, however, the newly wedded couple tells those nearest them of their union, so that the public in general will soon learn of it.

584 Marriageable young people in olden times were in an in-
182 comparably more favorable position; each one, following the dictates of his heart, selected from many persons the one desired. For the last few decades marital conditions have been affected by a complete disintegration of the natural order. They do not offer even a slight guarantee that the Yamana will continue as a people. In fact, the fate of the Yamana is already sealed.

7. Obstacles to Marriage

582 The basic freedom in the selection of a mate does not eliminate the fact that there are some things taken for granted which prohibit marital union. All adults are well informed about them. In particular it is the duty of the parents under no circumstances to permit the marital union of their child with a related person (p. 416). A few introductory remarks will be given before we list the actual obstacles to marriage.

/650 cont./

587 As we implied earlier, relationship by marriage is not regarded as blood relationship among our Yamana. It is no obstacle to marriage and, under certain conditions, is even an obligation for a levirate marriage. If the sister-in-law becomes a widow, the oldest brother, in terms of years, of her deceased husband must care for her and her children, provided a younger brother does not obtrude. The wife of the brother-in-law in question may not legally oppose this marriage, nor would either of these two be permitted to reject the widow because of the many children she brings with her (p. 412).

595 837 Aside from the obligation to take the widowed sister-in-law in marriage, the principle mentioned above is also clearly seen in an occasional marriage of two sisters simultaneously to one and the same man (26). A direct development usually leads to this

26. Hahn (a):805 summarizes both instances in the single sentence: "A man may marry two sisters and the wife of his brother" /translated from French/. Cooper:165, drawing on various sources, concludes: "It is a common practice among both the Onas and Yahgans for a man to marry two sisters" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):210 gives the following reason for this: "When a man marries more than one woman, the wives are usually sisters, which tends to strengthen the bonds of the family" /translated from Spanish/. This way of expressing it sounds credible and is close to what actually happens; this is less true of the statement he made 17 years earlier: "Polygamy is very general, and men generally have sisters of their wives, one sister after another as they become marriageable being given to the same husband" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

situation. When the married sister takes in her unmarried sister to help with the work or to be her companion, /651/ the brother-in-law not infrequently also falls in love with her. Sooner or later he will become intimate with her and will finally have sexual intercourse with her. Hence, he must ultimately acknowledge her as

/651 cont./

595 837 his wife. Their marriage takes place without any formality, and the sexual relations between them become known to the neighborhood at the latest when pregnancy is well advanced, if not long before. If the man has no valid reason for this step and is guided [626] merely by sensuality, he must be prepared for the bitter reproach and biting irony of his neighbors, intended to censure severely his weakness of character. Marriage with two sisters is not forbidden, but public opinion demands a reason for it, such as that the first wife cannot do her work because she is ill or that she has been blessed with a great many children. She perhaps had invited her sister into the hut as a helper, and since the latter adjusted well, the lawful wife will finally, on her own initiative, propose to her husband that he likewise regard her sister, who is probably always younger, as his wife. This is one way in which polygamy arises. Sometimes, also, consideration for the still unmarried sister-in-law will lead to it, for if she has become accustomed to her brother-in-law over a period of time, she will not look for another man, but will wait for her brother-in-law's proposal, or she will force herself upon him so insistently that he will yield to her wish. Her sister may not even be in favor of it.

• 587 Closely related to this is the view that, upon the death of his wife, a man has a certain right to his unmarried sister-in-law. If he proposes to her, she probably always accepts. If she refuses, however, and he nevertheless wants her, he may bring her into his hut by force. This is known as kuśátuku. This happens very rarely, however, for everyone knows that a woman who follows a man only because she is forced to do so cannot be held permanently.

Economic conditions in Tierra del Fuego make it imperative for every adult to marry, hence widowed persons (pp. 413, 480) do not remain alone very long. This sometimes leads to a considerable difference in age between the two partners, which does not constitute an obstacle to marriage and is apparently not even regarded as improper. An active young woman is more useful to an older widower than a woman as old as he is. For her part, the young creature expects to be treated with understanding by a quiet old man. From both sides, therefore, gentle pressure is exerted for the marriage of an old widower with a young woman (27).

27. It is an exaggeration, however, when

587

/651 cont./

Outes (g):55 says that "in general the old men take young girls, because the women must work hard" /translated from Spanish/, because a union in marriage of persons who are very different in age is not the rule.

Conversely, a young chap occasionally is content with a /652/ middle-aged widow if she knows how to ensnare him. In general, however, every bachelor first tries his luck with a girl (28).

28. Bridges (i):17 writes: "One piece of worldly advice given to the younger men was to take as a first wife an old woman because such would give them little trouble and much help" /cited in English/. Actually, this hint was dropped in the first youth initiation that I experienced. Bridges exaggerates considerably, for he adds: "This was often followed, though never I am sure from inclination but only from necessity, because marriageable girls were scarce, and always bespoken by men already married" /cited in English/. Fred Lawrence assured me that several of the marriageable girls were indeed captured by married men, but that the great majority of them tried their luck with young lads.

Widows are less desirable, which is why they must thrust themselves upon men who are about their own age (29). Their conduct

29. Bove (e):159 correctly observed: "The eagerness that mature women [who as such are, of course, widowed] display to marry youths must really be termed surpirising, and the fact is that they almost always attain their goal." He saw five or six marriages there. In the first three the woman was ten to 12 years older than the man; in one case she was 60

/652 cont./

587

> and he 20. We cannot maintain that such a strange marriage was necessitated by the advance of European civilization, for it was not rare even in earlier times. We need only recall the duty of a bachelor to marry his widowed sister-in-law (p. 412).

need not surprise us, for middle-aged men are generally married, and so it happens that they find happiness only with inexperienced bachelors. An old widow is usually charitably taken in by another married couple as a second wife, even though her new husband and she are far apart in age. This happens when she cannot make any connections with her relatives or when they have already died. No one expects her to have children, and this is, of course, not decisive. The main thing is that she is taken care of, and in return she can render the couple valuable service.

588 In contrast to those provisions which permit and even advise a marital union, there are definite prohibitions. The sharpest warning is given against a marriage between relatives, such as stepbrothers and stepsisters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, as well as cousins (30). The general feeling is against marriage

> 30. According to Bridges (MM:III, 117;1869), "cousins never marry, the doing so is held in abomination, and is never thought of, much less done; they speak of cousins as brothers and sisters" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):805 also maintains that "first cousins never marry" /translated from French/.

between any kind of relatives; "they never married any blood relation, however distant, to do so was utterly abominable to them" /cited in English/ (Bridges [i]:12). Nevertheless, very distant relatives sometimes are joined in marriage, even though mild disapproval may develop among their neighbors. The action of such a couple is not forbidden, however. The severe censure that several travelers have noted is directed against the marriage of close relatives, although an ultimate limit of the degree of relationship based on blood ties is not drawn. An explanation given

/653 cont./

582 621 from the natural unwillingness of women to separate themselves so entirely from their own people" /cited in English/.

582 587 597 Furthermore, it is not permitted for a man simultaneously to take a widowed mother and her daughter as wives. Toward the latter his relationship is that of stepfather, and she is obliged to obey him as his own child. This prohibition naturally remains in effect for the man in case the mother of this daughter dies, even if she has lived with him only a short time as his wife. Kinship by adoption has thus been introduced, and they are stepfather and stepdaughter toward each other. An infraction against this, however, is not considered as serious as marriage between blood relatives, although it is still very improper. Nothing is changed if first the mother and then the daughter, or first the daughter and then, in addition, the mother are betrothed. 582 587 Fred Lawrence could not remember a single case of /654/ such a marriage from former times and explained that it would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, Bridges (a):213 maintained that "a few cases of a man having as wives a mother and her daughter are known" /cited in English/ (33). The unnatural mixture of

33. On August 16, 1865 (VSA:XII, 272;1865), he wrote as follows on this subject: "There are two men who have as wives mother and daughter at the same time, but this is not liked generally" /cited in English/. Nevertheless, he later went so far as to make the following erroneous assertion: "Some of the Beagle Channel tribes have a practice of marrying a woman and her daughter" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869).

people in modern times has also weakened the effectiveness of this prohibition (34).

34. I herewith state my own observations in Spencer's: 72 words, "that Domingo married

/654 cont./

582
587

the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

582
881
618

A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the čiexaus, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

582
626

The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

585

In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

/666 cont./

595 wife each, five had two each, three had three each, and one even had four wives (51). A case of more than two wives, if it actually

51. In contrast to this assertion, I refer again to the decisive correction which Bridges (k):243 made in his own judgments of earlier years, when he says: "But when one came to know them [los Yahganes] well, it was discovered that they were neither cannibals nor polygamists" /translated from Spanish/. With these words he curtly denies any kind of polygamy; in doing so, however, he obviously slightly oversteps the bounds of reality.

happened, must at least be regarded as a rare exception (52). It

52. This automatically settles the preposterous assertion of Bove (e):157 and (g):234: "Although... a man takes as many wives as he pleases, one nevertheless seldom sees men with more than four wives." His traveling companion, Lovisato, of course repeats with him that "a man takes from one to five wives and without any ceremony" /translated from Italian/.

would be more accurate to reject many of these accounts as false observations, for, as we have already emphasized (p. 437), not every woman in the company of a man was therefore his wife. Nevertheless, it seems that one must grant this fact, at least for modern times. BD:573 mentions tuxlössa, "to marry more wives than two" /cited in English/. The two Lawrence brothers definitely dismissed the idea that in earlier, ordered conditions a Yamana might have been married to three or more wives simultaneously.
595 On another occasion, in February, 1923, Fred told me: "Anyone
● 587 who is familiar with the Yamana manner of speaking knows that they also speak of two or three wives of a man who has taken two or three women successively, in other words, another one

/666 cont./

595 in place of the one who ran away, was dismissed, or died. Such
587 a man cannot be called a polygamist in the strict sense of the word. Besides, a Yamana really has enough with two wives!" The explanation deserves to be carefully noted.

595 A Fuegian should not have more than one wife from free
586 choice, as can be seen from the fact that the feeling of the general public demands a definite and fundamental reason for taking a second spouse. If incompatability or serious alienation develops between married people, they ultimately separate. If after that some man takes a second woman as his wife, he does so for purely external reasons.

595 Almost always it is a question of incapacity to work on her part or a physical ailment of long duration. Modern times have brought about the latter condition. In view of the prevailing division of labor among the married Yamana, the man is absolutely dependent upon the unimpaired energy of his marital partner. If she must stop working for even a short time, she herself provides a substitute for him by summoning her sister, aunt, or niece. This state of affairs could not go on permanently. For example, if a wife has broken an arm or /667/ leg, she needs extra help, besides being unable to perform her customary work. As soon as she is aware of her hopeless condition, she voluntarily advises her husband to marry another woman. The man now has a true right to a second wife (53). Her still unmarried sister may

53. Dabbene (b):189 also grants it to him: "The man has a right to take another wife if the one he has is already old or if some misfortune leaves her with a serious physical defect" /translated from Spanish/. Spegazzini (a): 166 expressed himself in the same vein.

have taken over her duties, adjusted well to the brother-in-law, and be on the best of terms with his children. What could be more natural than that this brother-in-law say to her: "Stay with me as my second wife!" She probably always accepts the offer, if only out of pity for her sick sister and for the latter's children. Sometimes if an elderly couple are anxious for a fresh worker, he

/667 cont./

595 The intention of having more children is not a reason for
591 polygamy among the Yamana, for the Indian women are very
842 /668/ fertile, and no one could remember a childless woman in earlier times. Most cases of polygamy arose from the fact that a man who was already living with one or two women also took in a solitary widow, ĕlátakakĭpa. The latter perhaps did not find an opportunity for a new marriage with a bachelor or did not wish to return to her family group, and the man took her chiefly because he felt sorry for her. Whether or not he sometimes had intercourse with her, both knew from the start that they could not expect children from their union. Hence, it was actually the right of sanctuary which the husband granted this widow. In the strict sense of the word one cannot call such a life together a marriage.

595 In 1920 Walter explained to me how our Yamana must also
177 make allowances for the changes forced on them by European civilization. His father had three women in his hut simultaneously, with whom he had marital relations. At that time there was already a shortage of men on Lennox Island and environs, that is to say, in the eastern group of the Yamana. Hence the women forced themselves on the few men in order to find sanctuary somewhere. From among his many brothers and sisters, Walter had for several years been the only one living. Here is another case. The young Halakwulup, Julia, had fled from a brutal European and found refuge on the farm near Punta Remolino. She could scarcely come to any understanding with the Yamana and lived very much to herself. She was treated in a friendly fashion and was supported by the Indian women there, but as a solitary woman with a son a year old she could no longer make out by herself. There was no suitable Yamana youth who could be her husband. Finally Manuel, who was about 35 years old and was married to fifteen-year-old Emilia, took pity on her and took her into his hut as his second wife (p. 439).

The quiet acceptance of polygamy brings with it the surprising phenomenon that married people are separated by a considerable age difference (55), which is not regarded as an obstacle

55. "An elderly man will be found often to possess two young wives in addition to one his

/691 cont./

581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 589 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III, 117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 178 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have, in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 589 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges (i):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

589 888 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

836 ties. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally exogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the čiéxaus[1] initiation rite.

584 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of
583 the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent. Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the required čiéxaus initiation. Gusinde (1937, p. 633) estimates the more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19 years for boys, and 15 to 16 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Poly-
595 andry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon. A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
587 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing, and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe.
591 Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] *č* has the sound of English *ch*, *é* of English *eh*.